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THE RELATIONS OF TURKEY AND AUSTRIA 1683-1699

BY

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B. A. University of Illinois, 1917.

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY


IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918



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SUPERVISION BY VIOLA BROOKS

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109308

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INTRODUCTION.

Whenever one mentions Turkey in 1683, nearly everyone thinks of that country at that time as being far remote and of no interest to the Western world. Such a viewpoint may be somewhat justified in this country, because of the lack of material written in English. This attitude, however, is not altogether a correct one, since Western Europe, even before the time of the Crusades, had commercial relations through Turkish dominions. Then the Crusades took great masses of people thither, with a hostile attitude it is true; but before the Crusaders returned home, they had learned of many new products, which Europeans began to work more and more. Until the Cape route was discovered by the Portuguese, Europe knew of no other way to get these products except through Egypt and Asia Minor. Then interest in that region, except hostile religious rivalry, seems to have been lost in the great discoveries and in internal affairs, because it was in the 16th and 17th centuries that the Western countries were building themselves up into the great nations that we know today. When the rulers had consolidated their own countries, then their restless ambition and overflowing energy began to look about for new territory to conquer. It is very probable that they would have gone East, if Turkey

had not anticipated them and come West in 1683, because it was in this period, for example, that Russia began to feel the need of an outlet by way of the Black Sea. A little later the great nations developed the idea of the balance of power, which theory brought about an increased watchfulness over lands ruled by the Turk. This theory has played its part in preparing Europe for the present conflict, which started in the Balkans and in which there has been a great deal of fighting. The disposition of this region will be one of the problems that will have to be settled at the close of the war. And so the more we know of the past of those countries, the better can we understand the present.

CHAPTER I.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA.

The year 1683 was a very important one in Turkish history, because it was in this year that the Turks conceived the scheme of capturing Vienna, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire, which ambition brought on a long war and greatly accelerated the decline of their power in Europe. The Sultan at this time was Mohammed IV (1648-1687) who did not take much interest in the duties of his office, but resided mostly at Adrianople and spent the greater part of his time in hunting. Thus, the direction of the governmental functions was largely in the hands of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, descended from an obscure family in Caramania but who had been brought up in the court under the two Kiuprili's, first of the ablest line of Turkish viziers, and upon the death of Kiuprili Zadeh Ahmed Pasha he was made Grand Vizier.¹ At first it seemed as if he were going to continue in the policy of his predecessor, but the worse side of his nature soon got the upper hand. As a Vizier he obtained a taste of power and wanted more, namely to become the real ruler of a new Turkish State with its capital at Vienna, and it was mainly due to this ambition that he was so eager for the siege of Vienna.²

1. Cantemir, "History of the Othman Empire", Note 28, p. 292.

2. Cantemir, p. 305.

A good occasion was offered to fulfil this wish. Emeric Tökely³ in 1682 had started a rebellion among the Hungarians, but he soon found that he could not withstand the Imperial army, and so he called on the Turks for assistance. In return for their aid he would pay yearly forty thousand dollars as a tribute and would help the Turks with thirty thousand Hungarians, if there ever should be any occasion.⁴ This proposal provoked various expressions of opinion at the Porte. The Ulema, a body composed of those distinguished by any ecclesiastical degree, decided that the rebels should be supported in a private manner only until the end of the twenty years' truce, which had been made by Kiuprili-Zadeh Ahmed Pasha in 1664.⁵ The Sultana Validen, or the Sultan's mother, was also of this opinion.⁶ The Sultan and the Grand Vizier thought that assistance should be given publicly to Tökely, (1) because this was a fine opportunity for propagating the Mohammedan Faith, since Hungary was the bulwark of the Christians and she was submitting voluntarily. (2) Since the Empire was exhausted by long wars with France and Sweden, it would not be able to withstand the shock of the Ottoman army and so could be reduced swiftly to obedience.⁷ The Sultan

3. Tökely is the form found in Lippincott's "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary". There are several forms of the name, Tekeli, Tokolyi, Tokoly.

4. Cantemir, p. 296.

5. Cantemir, p. 296.

6. Ibid., p. 296.

7. Ibid., p. 296.

and the Grand Vizier had won over the Janissaries, who demanded a war. The Sultan's mother was won over to their side by the promise that out of the conquests her revenue would be increased to three hundred purses.⁸ After this the Kufti issued a Fetvâh approving the Sultan's designs. This, however, did not silence opposition, and there were many who advised the people not to consent to this war.⁹

Letters were sent to Emperor Leopold I saying that he should withdraw from Hungary, or, if he did not the Porte would consider his remaining as a hostile act. Leopold plainly saw the designs of the Turks, and not being prepared for war, he sent Albert Caprara as ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople with instructions to avert the war if possible. While the Turks were waiting to hear from the letters, the Grand Vizier sent Ibrahim Pasha, the Beylerbey of Buda, with six thousand troops to the assistance of Tökely. Together they captured Kaschau, Epieries, Leutschau, Levant, Lipschet, and Tillek.¹⁰ These victories made the Sultan propose hard terms of peace: (1) the restoration of Hungary to the condition in which it was in 1667, (2) the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins to the Ottoman

8. Ibid., p. 297. A purse equals 500 piasters. A piaster is a silver coin, which has varied in value.

9. Cantemir, p. 297.

10. The older forms of Kaschau and Leutschau were Cassovia and Leutsch. Levant, Lipschet and Tilleck are the older forms, the modern names of which are probably Leva, Lippa, and Tilmanova. Cantemir, p. 298.

Porte; (3) the Emperor should abolish Leopoldstadt and Gutta; (4) he should resign to Tökely Neutra, Ekolt with the island of Schutt and the fortress of Murau; and (5) he should grant an amnesty to all Hungarians, with the restitution of their estates and privileges.¹¹

The Emperor could not accept these terms and war was declared by the Sultan in June, 1682.¹²

A few days afterward the Grand Vizier, attended by the Mufti, the Kadileskers, and all other great men of State, went to Adrianople to spend the winter. Very early in 1683 the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, and the army started for Belgrade. They stopped at a small town outside of Belgrade, and the Sultan, who had decided to return to Constantinople, delivered over the command of the army and the standard of Mohammed to the Vizier, exhorting him to fight valiantly against the infidel.¹⁴ After the Sultan's departure, the Vizier crossed the Save from Belgrade where he was joined by Tökely with a large number of Hungarians. The Grand Vizier called a council of war of all the chief officers, to consider whether Vienna should be attacked in that year or not. Tökely was called on to speak first, since he was supposed to know more about the country. He did not favor the siege of Vienna; (1) because Vienna was too far away, (2) they would have to march through well fortified territory of the enemy, (3) if the siege were prolonged, they might be cut off from their source of supply, and (4) if Vienna should fall,

11. Cantemir, pp. 298-299.

12. Cantemir, pp. 299-300.

13. Jorga, "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches", IV, p. 188, says there was no real declaration of war.

14. Cantemir, pp. 299-300.

the Christian princes would unite to expel them. Tökely favored the conquest of Hungary because, (1) a part of Hungary desired their assistance, (2) if Hungary should be won, it could provide food for the Turks for the war the next year, (3) the Grand Vizier should besiege Buda or Belgrade, (4) the Turks should strengthen their forts throughout Hungary, and (5) the Turks should begin sending foraging raids into Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to destroy all the crops, which would greatly weaken the Empire.¹⁵ This opinion was not very agreeable to the Grand Vizier, which two of the most eminent Pashas saw, one of whom was Ibrahim Pasha of Buda and the other Ahmed Pasha, the Defterdar, or high treasurer, who when called upon gave ambiguous answers, since they did not wish to offend the Grand Vizier. Kara Mustapha seemed to follow Tökely's advice and ordered the army to Yavarin,¹⁶ but no sooner had he encamped under the walls than his scouts informed him that the Emperor had fled from Vienna and the city was in great confusion. Then the Vizier revived his hopes of taking Vienna. For this enterprise he won over the Janissaries by promising that they could pillage Vienna. Tökely and some of the Pashas still hesitated until the Grand Vizier showed the Hattisherif of the Sultan. They, then, laid aside their prejudices and the whole army marched to Vienna.

The Tartars under Nouredin Khan, going ahead first, met the Imperial troops on July 7, near Petronel on the

15. Cantemir, pp. 301-302.

16. I was unable to locate Yavarin.

Leitha River, in which engagement the Imperialists were defeated and the Duke of Savoy was mortally wounded.¹⁷ After he had left the Governor of Buda, Ibrahim Pasha, and the Governor of Silistria, Mustapha Pasha, to guard the bridge, Kara Mustapha crossed the Raab and found an undefended country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. Tata, Papa, Attenburg, Hamburg, and a score of villages fell with scarcely any resistance to the Turks, only a few places being left, such as Bruck, Odenburg and Eisenstadt, since they were under Tökey's protection.¹⁸ On July 14, 1683, Kara Mustapha pitched his camp before the walls of Vienna. The camp was arranged in the form of a crescent. Splendid above all other things was the tent of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, made of green silk, worked with gold and silver, set with precious stones, and containing on the inside the standard of the Prophet.¹⁹ He had an army estimated at 200,000 men, with 300 cannon and camp followers of 60,000 or more.²⁰

What preparation had Vienna made to withstand the siege? The early part of the year was taken up in debating very minor details, such as the salary of the officers or the bread apportionment of the common soldiers.²¹ The army, however, was brought up to 71,000. 28,000 of these were needed to guard the border from Carlopago on the Adriatic to

17. Zinkeisen, "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches", V, p.98.

18. Ibid, V, p. 99.

19. Encyclopoedia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. 19, p. 307.

20. Zinkeisen, V. p. 99.

21. Ibid., V, p. 100.

the Jablunka Pass.²² This left only 43,000 to the Duke of Lorraine, who had advanced to the River Raab, which he abandoned at the approach of the Turks. The Emperor knew that he could not fight alone and so he made allies among the Imperial princes and the King of Poland. Among the Imperial Princes, who showed much zeal, were Maximilian Emmanuel, the Elector of Bavaria, and John George III of Saxony, but some held back, as for example the Great Elector, Frederick William IV of Brandenburg, who was afraid that if he should lead 15,000 of his best troops down to Vienna, France would attack his land. Under the influence of the Papacy the Emperor concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with John Sobieski, King of Poland, on May 2, 1683. The Emperor was to put 60,000 men into the field, while the King of Poland was to furnish 40,000 men. The main purpose of the Alliance was to get back the forts of Hungary, also Kaminiets, Podolia, and the Ukraine. If either capital should be attacked, the troops of the other would march to its relief. They would try to get other allies, especially the Czar of Russia.²³ When the Emperor heard of the defeat near Petronel, he with his whole court withdrew immediately from Vienna to Linz and then farther on to Passau.²⁴ This caused general consternation, so that many noble and wealthy families left the city. As many as 60,000 departed in that half day, and the wagons passed over the Danube for six hours.²⁵ The Emperor entrusted

22. Ibid., V. p. 101.

23. Zinkeisen, V. p. 104.

24. Zinkeisen, V. p. 101.

25. Von Hammer, "Jeschichte des Osmanischen Reiches", VI, p.395.

the care of the city to Count Starhemberg. Count Cappliers, in charge of the civil administration, within a few days brought the defenses up to 22,000 men. Among these there were 13,800 infantry, 9 Squadrons of Knights, 7,500 armed citizens, and a student corps of 700 men.²⁶ The Duke of Lorraine with his weakened army passed the city on July 9 and pitched camp in the valley of the Tabor. The part of the city outside the walls was abandoned and set in flames.

On July 17, Leopoldstadt was captured by the Turks and on the same day the siege of Vienna began. The Turkish army was divided into three main divisions, the center, left wing, and right wing. Kara Mustapha with the Agha and General Lieutenant of the Janissaries, and the Beylerbey Kutschuk Hasan Pasha commanded in the center; the Governor of Diarbekr, Kara Mustapha Pasha, the Governor of Anatolia, Ahmed Pasha, and the third General Lieutenant of the Janissaries commanded the right; the Governor of Temesvar, Ahmed Pasha, the Beylerbey of Siwas, Chalil Pasha, the Beylerbey of Karamania, and the second General Lieutenant of the Janissaries commanded the left.²⁷ There were many attacks, some by small groups, and some general storms, which took place on August 13, August 24, September 4, 5, and 6, but Count Starhemberg was able to repulse all these attacks.²⁸ Several mines were sprung under the walls, after the Turks would try to rush into the breach, but all these attacks were futile. After the siege had been going on for six weeks, both sides began to

26. Zinkeisen, V. p. 102.

27. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, p. 400.

28. Jorga, IV, p. 193.

suffer from a lack of provisions. The Turkish provisions were intercepted by the garrisons of Pressburg²⁹, Yavarin, and Komorn, as Tökely had foretold. The Grand Vizier sent a foraging expedition to join with Tökely, who were to take Pressburg, as this town had the weakest garrison. In some manner, the Duke of Lorraine learned of this design and sent several regiments under Louis of Baden, who defeated Tökely, and then the Turks fled and left a great amount of provisions.³⁰ The news of this defeat caused the Janissaries to grow discouraged and some almost broke out in revolt. The Christians were in great need; 6000 men had been lost in action or by various diseases which spread as a pestilence in the city. Provisions and munitions began to be scarce. When it seemed as if the city could not hold out any longer, help arrived.

Between September 6 and September 9, the Germans and the Poles united with the Duke of Lorraine near Tuln. The army now amounted to 80,000 men, among whom were 27,000 Austrians under the Duke of Lorraine, 11,400 Saxons under the Elector John George, 11,300 Bavarians under the Elector Max Emmanuel, 8,000 French under the Prince of Waldeck, and 26,000 Poles under King John Sobieski,³¹ who was the commander-in-chief. They advanced in two columns to the Kahlenberg, whose summit they reached on September 11. Kara Mustapha might have prevented the union of these troops, if he had fortified the bridges over the Danube and occupied the mountain passes.³²

29. Cantemir used the Latin form of Pressburg which was Posonium.

30. Cantemir, p. 307.

31. Zinkeisen, V, p. 106.

32. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, p. 418.

Early on the next morning, which was Sunday, the general conflict between the two armies took place.³³ The Turks were commanded on the left by Ibrahim Pasha of Buda, and on the right by Kara Mehemed Pasha of Diarbekr, while the Grand Vizir and the Agha of the Janissaries commanded the main body of the troops and the Spahis.³⁴ Sobieski was fighting opposite the Grand Vizier, while the Germans fought on the wings. The battle surged back and forth, but after six hours of hard fighting, the Imperialists pressed back the Turks, who broke into a panic and fled to Yavarin. The Turks left behind in the camp 180 large cannon,³⁵ great sums of money, costly jewels, great stores of food, many banners, horses, weapons, and munitions, which became the booty of the Christians.³⁶

The joy of Vienna was great. The King of Poland with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony made a triumphal procession through the city. The Emperor and his court returned on September 14. Leopold I received all the leaders except Starhemberg coldly, probably because he envied their fame and success.³⁷ The Emperor, however, gave to Count Starhemberg a costly ring, 300,000 marks in money, and allowed him to add the tower of St. Stephens to his coat of arms.³⁸ This haughty attitude of the Emperor displeased many of the princes; John George was so provoked that he left on September 15 under

33. Jorga, IV, p. 114.

34. Cantemir, p. 310.

35. Cantemir, p. 311.

36. Jorga, IV, p. 195.

37. Zinkeisen, V, p. 107.

38. Ibid., V, p. 109.

the pretext of indisposition,³⁹ and many others, who had voluntarily joined, followed the example of John George. On September 17, Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine left Vienna and marched towards Parkany, where they met the Turks.

This battle was very bloodily fought out; in the end the Turks had to retreat. They hoped to get across the river to Gran, but the bridge broke with them. The Turks lost 7,000, among whom was the Governor of Bosnia; among the 1200 prisoners were the Governors of Siwas and Silistria.⁴⁰ A few days afterward Gran fell to the Imperialists after a four days' siege, which closed the military operations of 1683.⁴¹

Sobieski would have liked to spend the winter in Hungary, but a large party demanded his return. He reached home in December.⁴²

After the defeat near Parkany, Kara Mustapha withdrew to Belgrade. Before he went thither he put to death the Beylerbey of Buda and all who had opposed him, because he was afraid that they might report unfavorably to the Sultan and that he himself would be put to death, a fate quite common for one who had failed in a military enterprise.⁴³ When the Grand Vizier stopped at Belgrade he sent presents to the Sultan, the Sultana Valideh, and the principal officers of the court, by which he gained the favor of the Sultan, who declared the Grand Vizier was justified in putting the men to death.

39. Zinkeisen, V, p. 108.

40. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, p. 420-21.

41. Cantemir, p. 312.

42. Zinkeisen, V, p. 107.

43. Cantemir, 311.

Kara Mustapha, thus encouraged, asked the Sultan to put to death the Agha of the Janissaries and certain Pashas whom he named. Sufficient time had elapsed for fuller information to be brought to the Sultan; besides this many enemies of the Grand Vizier's were demanding his deposition, and finally the Sultan gave orders for Kara Mustapha's death, which were executed on December 25, 1683, at Belgrade.⁴⁴

44. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, p. 426.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR UNTIL 1688.

No one thought very seriously of peace. Although the Turks had tried to persuade the Venetians to remain neutral, nevertheless Venice joined Austria, and then both sides began to prepare in earnest. After the disastrous defeat of the preceding year under the direction of a Grand Vizier, the Turks would have been greatly pleased if the Sultan had taken affairs in his own hands, but Mohammed IV did not have the foresight to make use of this opportunity. The Sultan appointed Kara Ibrahim Pasha as the new Grand Vizier, who tried to make himself popular with the people and the court, in order that there would not be factions demanding his fall.¹ He sent a present to the Sultan of over 30,000 Realen, and he very promptly sent money to the army, which made the army enthusiastic and confident that they would be victorious.² The estates of Kara Mustapha were confiscated and among other things 3,000 purses of pure gold were found.³ The new Grand Vizier appointed Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha as Seraskier against the Germans, and Aineji Suleiman Pasha to act in the same capacity against Poland, and ordered the High Admiral to watch the Venetians.⁴

1. Cantemir, Note 63, p. 316.

2. Jorga, IV, 199.

3. Jorga, IV, p. 199.

4. Cantemir, p. 317.

Preparations for further fighting were made by the Christians. When Leopold and John Sobieski made their alliance, both of them, remembering that the Popes had dissolved many such alliances, appended a clause saying that that oath was not subject to papal dispensation.⁵ The Pope became a firm believer in this alliance and he exerted his influence over Venice to join it. It was well known that Venice was not on the best of terms with the Porte, therefore Count Thurn had very little trouble in persuading the Venetians to join them.⁶ Under the influence of the Papacy, the new alliance was made early in 1684 and was called the Holy League.⁷ The terms were very similar to those between Leopold and John Sobieski. Venice was to help with her navy. None of the powers should begin war independently nor should they make a separate peace. They were to invite the Czar of Russia to join them.⁸

At the same time the Christian Powers were trying to get help from Persia, a country that held to the Shiite or the unorthodox Mohammedan Faith. Already in 1683 the Archbishop Sebastian Knab of Nakhitchewan had been sent to Ispahan to interest the Shah in the war against the Turks. He was unsuccessful because: (1) the Shah had enough to do in protecting his borders from raids by the Cossacks; (2) the

5. Stanley Lane-Poole, "The Story of Turkey", p. 227.
Rycaut, "A History of the Turks", III, p. 96.

6. Zinkeisen, V, p. 114.

7. Ibid., p. 114.

8. Jorga, IV, p. 202;
Rycaut, III, p. 136.

Grand Vizier was of the Sunnite Faith, which was the one that the Turks adhered to; (3) the other ministers were paid from Constantinople, consequently they were loyal to the Turks; and (4) there was a Frenchman who held the place of first interpreter.⁹ France was opposed to the Holy League all through this period mainly because Louis XIV wanted to build up his power at the expense of the Emperor. A Polish Envoy, Zgurski, who was sent to Ispahan, was not any more successful than the Archbishop.

Military operations began in the late spring. The Austrians had as their objective Buda, which the Turks must have guessed, since the new Seraskier Ibrahim Pasha was in that neighborhood before the Austrians arrived. The Duke of Lorraine had gathered together near Parkany about 43,000 men, 70 cannon, and 48 siege guns, and in June started for Buda.¹⁰ On the way there they passed by Wissegrad, which they took without much resistance, because the garrison could not withstand the guns of the Austrians.¹¹ As the inhabitants of Wissegrad, who were allowed to depart, were on the way to Vacz, they met the troops of the Beylerbey of Buda, who had been sent out to retard the progress of the Austrians. The Duke of Lorraine fell upon these troops, forced them to retire with great loss, and then took the town of Vacz.¹² The Austrians reached Buda on July 14, exactly one year after the Siege of Vienna had been begun. The city was defended

9. Jorga, IV, p. 211
10. Zinkeisen, V, p. 117.

11. Cantemir, p. 318
12. Jorga, IV, p. 211.

by 10,000 men under the leadership of Kara Mohammad and by 200 guns on the walls.¹³ While the Germans were intent upon the siege, the Seraskier, Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha, brought up his army, which made many attacks upon the camp and many attempts to break the Austrian line, but as often as they attacked, they were repulsed.¹⁴ During the first of September the Austrians were reinforced by 8,000 men under the Duke of Bavaria and by several companies under the Margrave of Baden-Durlach.¹⁵ These reinforcements did not equalize their losses because the Austrians had lost 10,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, besides which many men were sick, among whom was the Duke of Lorraine.¹⁶ Added to these troubles was the disagreement between the leaders, since Count Starhemberg wanted to give up the siege and the Duke of Lorraine did not. The Duke of Bavaria took charge while the Duke of Lorraine was ill. Finally in October all the leaders agreed to abandon the siege, which had lasted 109 days and had cost the Austrians no less than 23,000 men.¹⁷ On October 27th the cannons and siege guns were shipped to Gran and the army departed on the following day,¹⁸ "whereupon the Turks resumed their courage and enjoyed a calm after the appearance of so great a storm."¹⁹

13. Zinkeisen, V, p. 117.

14. Cantemir, 318.

15. Jorga, IV, p. 212.

16. Zinkeisen, V, p. 118.

17. Ibid., V, p. 118.

18. Ibid., V, p. 118.

19. Cantemir, p. 318.

In the meantime Count Leslie, who had been sent by the Duke of Lorraine into Slavonia, besieged the small border fortress of Veroczi and took it, after he had defeated two Turkish armies.²⁰ General Schulz marched into Upper Hungary and defeated Tökely, but was forced to withdraw with considerable loss.²¹

The failure of the previous year did not dishearten the Austrians and they succeeded in raising quite a large army. During the winter their troops were brought up to 60,000 men and during the early part of the summer they were reinforced by 8,000 Bavarians, 6,000 men from Cologne, 11,000 men from Brunswick, 8,000 men from France and the Upper Rhine, and 4,500 men from Suabia.²² It was generally thought that the army would attack Buda, but it laid siege to Neuhausel, since it was nearer and not as well defended.²³ The Seraskier, Sheitan Ibrahim Pasha, who had left his winter quarters in Belgrade on June 20, decided that the best way to relieve Neuhausel was to make a counter siege of Gran and Wissegrad, which forts were on the point of coming into his hands before the Austrians arrived.²⁴ The Duke of Lorraine left 16,000 men under Field Marshal Caprara to keep up the siege of Neuhausel, while he was saving Gran. He arrived there during the first week of August.²⁵ The Seraskier, when he saw the Austrians approaching, drew up his forces in an advantageous position, the right flank being defended by the Danube River, the left flank by a ridge of

20. Ibid., 318.

21. Zinkeisen, V, 119.

22. Ibid., V, 119.

23. Zinkeisen, V, 119

24. Cantemir, 321.

25. Zinkeisen, V, 120.

mountains, and behind the army was the road to Buda which assured provisions and supplies.²⁶ The Turkish army continued to remain in this fortified place waiting for the Austrians to attack them there. The Duke of Lorraine, however, saw their plan, retreated, and the Turks, thinking they were victorious, started in pursuit. But this was only a scheme of the Duke's, and when he had the Turks in a marshy country, he fell upon them and defeated them on August 16th.²⁷ While the Duke of Lorraine thus saved Gran, Count Caprara kept up the siege of Neuhausel and was rewarded by its surrender on August 19th, which aroused great enthusiasm among the Allies.²⁸ On the other hand the effect was the opposite among the Turks; the Seraskier even sent one of his Officers to the Austrians to see if peace could not be arranged.²⁹ Thoroughly disheartened, the Seraskier withdrew from Hungary.

The Austrians were very successful in upper Hungary also. Not only did they take many towns, such as Epieries, Tokay, Kaschau, Sarospatak, Szolnok, and Siwar, but they broke the strength of the rebellion after the Turks had captured Tökely.³⁰ The discouraged Turks began to think that Tökely was the cause of all their misfortunes and so the Pasha of Peterwardein seized him and sent him as a prisoner to Constantinople.³¹ Petrozzi was then made the leader of the Hungarians; however, he accepted the appointment

26. Cantemir, 321.

27. Zinkeisen, V, 120.

28. Ibid., V, 120.

Rycaut, III, 173.

29. Cantemir, 322.

30. Jorga, IV, 214,

Rycaut, III, 185.

31. Cantemir, 322.

with resentment because Tökely had become endeared to him and to all the Hungarians.³² He said to his army, "It is in vain to expect the restoration of liberty to Hungary from men who know not what liberty is, and have no other rule of their action, but the arbitrary will of their governors."³³ And so Petrozzi with many Hungarians deserted and joined Field Marshal Caprara.³⁴ Munkacz was the only fortress that remained faithful to Tökely.³⁵

At the same time Count Leslie with 6,000 men had been busy in Slavonia. He destroyed the small fortress of Micholacz. On August 14th he tore down a great part of the bridge over the Drave. The valley of the River Unna was laid waste with very little loss to his own troops and most of this territory came under their control.³⁶ After the general success of this year, the Austrians felt that their position would be secured if they had Buda, and so this city became the main objective of the next year's campaign.

Although the present Grand Vizier did not lead the armies in person, yet he would be held responsible for the loss of the Hungarian towns. The Sultan had been uneasy because the Grand Vizier remained at home, therefore Kara Ibrahim began to fear that he would meet the fate common to public men who had failed. He employed a favorite device, the killing of all capable men in order that there would be none who could fill his place.³⁷ He began with Shaitan

32. Ibid., 323.

33. Ibid., 323.

34. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", III, 462.

35. Zinkeisen, V, 121.

36. Zinkeisen, V, 122.

37. Cantemir, 326.

Ibrahim Pasha, the Seraskier against the Austrians, alleging that he had not attended to his duties in the siege of Gran. The Seraskier of Poland, Suleiman Pasha, had just won a victory over the Poles, which made it hard for the Grand Vizier to find an excuse for his death. He tried to lay a plot, but since Suleiman was a hero, many demanded that he be appointed Grand Vizier and at the same time remain Seraskier because they felt that he could restore the Empire. After Suleiman became Grand Vizier, he released Tökely, who was restored to his former honors, raised a large army, compelled those who would not fight to provide money, and gave his own gold and silver vessels to be turned into money.³⁸

Buda was the objective of the Christians in the year 1686. The city was defended by 11,000 men under Abdi Pasha, a man of great ability as a leader, of enthusiasm, of courage, and of great bravery.³⁹ The Allies' troops of 60,000 men, which were under the command of the Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria, assembled near Parkany and marched immediately to Buda, which they reached the latter part of June.⁴⁰ After throwing up their intrenchments, the real siege was begun on June 24th. On July 22nd a powder magazine in the fort exploded with such force that the earth shook for many miles around and caused a large section of the walls to fall down. A general attack by the Austrians then took place. Although the Austrians fought desperately and

38. Ibid., 329.

39. Jorga, IV, 216.

40. Ibid., IV, 216.

had lost 3,300 dead and wounded, they were unable to get into the breach made by the mine explosion.⁴¹ Just at this point the Grand Vizier came, but he did not attack the Austrian camp because it was so strongly fortified. Suleiman Pasha wished to strengthen the garrison and for this purpose he sent four Pashas with 8,000 horse and 2,000 Janissaries, who were to pass through between the stations of the Austrians and the Bavarians and throw the Janissaries into the garrison. The Duke of Lorraine, suspecting the enemy's plan, sent out a body of horse who defeated the Ottomans before they had reached the Austrian camp.⁴² On August 9th the Grand Vizier made another attempt to relieve the garrison. This time the Janissaries advanced more cautiously, surprised and succeeded in passing the Brandenburger camp, but were repulsed when they were almost ready to enter the city.⁴³ Two days later the Austrians made a general attack and gained control of part of the defenses. The Grand Vizier then made a last attempt to relieve Buda and this attempt was also unsuccessful.⁴⁴ Finally on the 2nd of September the Austrians gained Buda, the capital of Hungary and a city which the Turks had held for 145 years.⁴⁵ The brave Turkish defender, Abdi Pasha, did not survive this defeat, and he was found among the dead, covered with many wounds.⁴⁶ The Vizier retreated

41. Zinkeisen, V, 123.

42. Cantemir, 329.

43. Ibid., 329.

44. Ibid., 330.

45. Zinkeisen, V, 124.

46. Jorga, IV, 217.

rapidly, followed by the Duke of Lorraine, after he had placed 6,000 men in the garrison at Buda.⁴⁷

The Duke of Lorraine sent Margrave Ludwig of Baden against Fünfkirchen. He was to unite with general Scharffenberg of Croatia. On the way the Margrave took the small fort of Simontornya and arrived before Fünfkirchen on October 16th, and five days later he took the place.⁴⁸ He next took possession of Siklos and hoped to take Darda, but winter was coming on and he could not pass the morassēs of the Drave, and so he was forced to return. On the way home he took the small fort of Kaposvar.⁴⁹

In the meantime the Duke of Lorraine with his troops marched to Szegedin. The Turks and Tartars were hurrying up as reinforcements, but they are met by the Duke of Lorraine, who inflicts a terrible defeat upon them at the battle of Zenta. As a result of this battle Szegedin surrendered. This surrender closed the brilliant campaign of the Christians in 1686. The Grand Vizier and many of the Turks wanted peace and had asked for peace negotiations, but the Christians did not pay much attention to these efforts of the Turks.⁵⁰

The campaign of 1687 was centered along the Drave River. The Grand Vizier with 40,000 men left Belgrade in April and laid siege to Esseg.⁵¹ The Duke of Lorraine and the Elector of Bavaria with 75,000 men crossed the Drave

47. Zinkeisen, V, 124.

48. Ibid., V, 124.

49. Ibid., V, 125.

50. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 476. Rycaut, III, 228-229.

51. Jorga, IV, p. 218.

by Valpo in order to relieve Esseg. For several days the Austrians and the Turks fought, in which engagement the Austrians were finally forced to retire.⁵² This loss was more than compensated for by the brilliant victory at Mohacz. When the Austrians retreated, the Grand Vizier followed them, and caught up with them near Mohacz. The Turks fortified a camp in a wood near by, from which they made several attacks. Several times it seemed as if victory over a certain section was in Turkish hands, but then the Austrians would move up their guns and drive them back.⁵³ August 12th was the decisive day because it was on that day that the Janissaries were thrown into a panic and fled. The Turkish losses were large - 8,000 dead and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, 78 cannon, provisions, and war equipment.⁵⁴ The Grand Vizier reinforced Esseg, left 6,000 men to guard the bridge at Peterwardein, and retired to Belgrade.⁵⁵

The victory of Mohacz threw the Turks throughout Croatia and Slavonia into great fear. The Duke of Lorraine pretended to begin a siege of Temesvar, and the Turks, being deceived, took away many of their troops from Slavonia.⁵⁶ When the Turkish soldiers were greatly reduced, the Duke of Lorraine sent General Dunewald there who was able to capture every important place.⁵⁷ The Duke of Lorraine went to Transylvania. Michael Apaffy, the ruler of that country, had already been asked to abandon the Turks and to join with

52. Zinkeisen, V., 126.

53. Cantemir, 338.

54. Zinkeisen, V, 126.

55. Cantemir, 338.

56. Ibid., 339.

57. Zinkeisen, V, 127; Rycant, III, 263.

Austria, and he had returned a rather promising answer, but when the Duke wished to winter his troops here, Apaffy refused the request.⁵⁸ The Duke of Lorraine decided he would get the country by force if in no other way, and soon had control of some of the important towns, then Apaffy was ready to treat for terms. An agreement was reached whereby Apaffy and his son should continue to rule; and the Austrians were allowed to keep garrisons there and were to have 100,000 guilders as an indemnity.⁵⁹ Some fighting was kept up all winter under Count Caprara. On December 17th he captured Erlau, and four weeks later he took Munkacz, which had been defended bravely by the wife of Tökely. She and her two children were taken prisoner when the city fell.⁶⁰

Now since practically all of Hungary had been won by the Austrians, the Emperor decided to have his son Joseph crowned King of Hungary. This ceremony took place on December 9th at Pressburg and was celebrated with great splendor.⁶¹

58. Cantemir, 339.

59. Zinkeisen, V, 127;
Rycaut, III, 263.

60. Jorga, IV, 220.

61. Zinkeisen, V, 129;
Rycaut, III, 263-265.

Venice, another member of the Holy League, was equally as successful as the Austrians during the first years of the war. Cantemir⁶² gave as the immediate occasion of the break with Turkey the various troubles that arose while the Venitians were at Constantinople. While the siege was going on, the new Venetian ambassador to the Porte arrived with two men of war and three merchant ships. He was unloading such a large amount of goods as his own that the Turkish collector of customs, becoming suspicious, investigated and found that much of it was consigned to merchants, who were in this way trying to evade paying the duties. The custom officer seized the goods and ships, which the Ambassador paid a large sum to redeem. A further disturbance arose ^{war} while the ships were still in the harbor. A certain Venetian nobleman was informed that his slave was attempting to escape on these ships and so he applied to the Turkish Government, asking that they should help him to recover his slave. The Government sent out a man to search the ships but the captain refused him this right and even tried to prevent it by force. When the Sultan heard of it, he seized the Ambassador, which angered Venice very much. By this time the Turks had failed in their expedition against Vienna and were especially anxious to keep Venice out of the war, but their efforts failed.

The Turkish ships had fallen into decay and could not be repaired nor could new ones be built, because the

62. Cantemir, 316-317.

army took all available money.⁶³ Since there was such a scarcity of ships, the coasts were very weakly defended and so the Venetians did not have much opposition to their first campaign. They began with the devastation of Dalmatia, which had controlled, since the year before, Urana, Ostrovitz, Carino, Nadine, Scardonia and Macarsca.⁶⁴ The Venetians took the two castles Duare and Risano, and then marched on towards Albania and Bosnia and besieged Clin and Castelnovo.⁶⁵ Morosini, who commanded the fleet, held a council of war in which it was decided to attack St. Mauro, which they captured on August 8th after a 17 day's siege, and a month later they took Prevesa, which was opposite to St. Mauro.⁶⁶ It was also reported that three Turkish galleys were sunk off the island of Tinos.⁶⁷

In 1685 Morosini with his fleet, consisting of forty ships with 3 masts (Dreimastern), six galleys, and four transport ships carrying 1200 men, appeared on the coast of the Morea and fixed his attention on Koron.⁶⁸ The siege was begun on June 15th. The Turkish Seraskier gained a small hill overlooking the Venetian camp, but he was defeated in the fighting and was forced to retire. When the Venetians had battered down the walls, Koron surrendered on August 12th

63. Jorga, IV, 208.

64. Von Hammer, VI, 444.

65. Zinkeisen, V, 130.

66. Ibid., V, 130.

67. Cantemir, 321.

68. Jorga, IV, 209.

after a 47 day's siege.⁶⁹ The garrison of that city was cruelly massacred.⁷⁰ The Mainotes rebelled and began the siege of Zernate. When the garrison heard that the Venetians were coming to help the Mainotes, they surrendered. Near Kalamata the Turkish forces were defeated, and then Kalamata, Zernate, Kalepha, and Passava passed over to the Venetians. As the Venetians were returning to their ships to go into winter quarters they took Gomenitza.

Although Morosini wished to get the island of Crete, yet the most natural campaign was to try to complete the conquest of the Morea. The land forces were commanded by Count Königsmarck, who took Navarino, Modon, and Argos with very little opposition.⁷¹ The Venetians then crowned their Peloponnesian effort by the taking of Nauplia, which siege began on July 20th.⁷² Very soon afterwards the Seraskier of the Morea hastened up to relieve the city, but after a short fight was defeated. He was not discouraged, however, by this defeat, but raised another army, and by surprise got control of a hill from which he could bombard the Venetian camp. The situation continued in this way for several days, until Morosini brought up the rest of the army, and then the Seraskier was thrown back. As a result of the defeat of the Seraskier the city surrendered.

The year 1687 was yet more brilliant in its results for the Venetians than the preceding one. Count Königsmarck

69. Cantemir, 325.

70. Ibid., 325.

71. Zinkeisen, V, 132.

72. Cantemir, 336.

landed his troops at Patras and in the neighborhood of that place he defeated the Seraskier.⁷³ After this defeat, Lepanto gave itself up without any fighting, which gave the Venetians the control of the north coast and all of the Morea.⁷⁴ They pushed on to Corinth. When the Turks saw that the Venetians were coming, they set fire to the city and retreated to the mountains. The Venetians checked the fire before it reached the magazines and saved the town for themselves.⁷⁵ Morosini sent Count Königsmarck on ahead to Athens, where he began the siege on September 22nd. The defense consisted of 600 men who had their position on the Acropolis. A very unfortunate accident happened during this siege. The Turks were using the Parthenon as a powder magazine, and one of the Venetian bombs ignited this powder, which ruined one of the world's most beautiful works of art.⁷⁶ Soon afterwards Athens fell. Morosini was thereafter known as the Peloponnesian.⁷⁷

73. Jorga, IV, 210.

74. Zinkeisen, V, 132.

75. Cantemir, 340.

76. Zinkeisen, V, 133.

77. Von Hammer, VI, 439.

The Poles had not been idle after the saving of Vienna, although they were the least successful of the Allies in the Holy League.⁷⁸ Aineji Suleiman Pasha had been appointed as the Seraskier against the Poles. He crossed over the Danube near Sackza and concluded that he had time to investigate the affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia. The two provinces were ruled by the Two Cantacuzeni, Moldavia by Demetrius and Wallachia by Serban. Demetrius was a weak and inefficient prince, and so the Seraskier, since he thought that the troubled times needed a strong man, deposed him and put Constantine Cantemir in his place. The latter, as a proof of his fidelity, sent his oldest son Antiochus and four of the principal barons as hostages to Constantinople.⁷⁹ The Seraskier was somewhat suspicious of Serban, since he believed that he was in correspondence with the Emperor and the Czar of Russia, but Serban was not deposed, since he gave Suleiman Pasha a large bribe.⁸⁰

These affairs had taken more time than the Seraskier had planned, therefore John Sobieski had had time to build a bridge over the Dniester near Hotin, by which he had crossed over and begun the siege of Kaminiets.⁸¹ The King of Poland, however, was unsuccessful, since the Seraskier almost blockaded his camp and since the Tartars had been ordered to destroy all the grain. At the end of the year's campaign, John Sobieski was forced to retire without gaining any victories.

78. Zinkeisen, V, 138.

80. Cantemir, 319.

79. Cantemir, 320.

After this unsuccessful expedition, John Sobieski tried to win over the inhabitants of Moldavia and sent several letters to Prince Cantemir, who answered that he hardly dared to revolt, since his son was a hostage.⁸² The King of Poland was sick during the summer of 1685 and he could not take command of the army in person, therefore he sent Jablonowski into Moldavia.⁸³ He had not gone far until he was met near the village Boian by the Seraskier with 25,000 Turks. Cantemir, who was a Christian, sympathized with the Christian cause, but he could not openly help the Poles for fear that his son would be put to death. He did, however, secretly inform the Poles at what part of the lines to concentrate the heaviest forces and he also persuaded the Seraskier not to make an attack upon the Poles. The Poles on their part repaid Cantemir's show of friendship by making an attack upon Cantemir's men, who quickly armed themselves to repulse this charge. The Turks, hearing the noise of the guns, came up, attacked the Poles in the rear and soon surrounded them, killing 6,000 men. 5,000 Cossacks fighting on the side of the Poles were obliged to surrender. The remaining Poles thought they would retreat and intrench themselves in their camp, but since the passage was cut off by the Tartars, they took to flight, leaving all their baggage and provisions behind.⁸⁴ This was the only success of the

82. Cantemir, 321.

83. Zinkeisen, V, 138.

84. Cantemir, 325.

Turks during that summer, consequently the Seraskier was hailed as a great hero in Constantinople and was made Grand Vizier.⁸⁵

The ill success of the Poles still continued in the following campaign of 1686. This time the King led his army in person.⁸⁶ He soon took Jassy and was welcomed by all the Christians as a great deliverer. For two weeks the Poles were feasted and all kinds of celebrations were held in their honor.⁸⁷ The Poles marched further on, but they were unable to carry on many military operations since they lacked food. The Tartars had burned up all the fields and were continually annoying them by small attacks.⁸⁸ The Poles crossed the River Pruth into Bessarabian territory with the hope that they would be able to get provisions. They were disappointed, however, because the Turks prevented their advance, and so they were forced to recross the River Pruth. For awhile they plundered the Moldavians, but at last, desperate with hunger, they retreated to Poland.⁸⁹

In 1687 the Poles under the crown prince James made a second attempt to take Kaminiets, which was besieged by them for a few days. Some damage was done by their cannon and shells, but when they learned that the Turks and Tartars were advancing, they retreated in all haste.⁹⁰ No other military operations were undertaken this year.⁹¹

85. Ibid., 325.

86. Zinkeisen, V, 138.

87. Jorga, IV, 206.

88. Cantemir, 334.

89. Ibid., 336.

90. Zinkeisen, V, 138.

91. Cantemir, 340.

The Holy League, as has been shown, was especially anxious to have Russia join them in order that they might attack the Turks on the North. Russia finally came into the Holy League in May, 1686.⁹² Up to this time Russia and Poland had only a truce, and so before Russia would join, she must have a peace with Poland. In this peace Poland gave up her claim to Kiev, the province of Smolensk, and the Ukraine in return for one and one-half million guilders.⁹³ There were two czars of Russia at that time; Ivan, a feeble man, and Peter, who assumed all the control in 1689 and is known as Peter the Great. Although Russia made the treaty in 1686, she did not start active operations until 1687. When Russia entered the war, both czars were incapable of leading the armies in person, therefore, the command was given to Prince Golitzin, who had an immense army of 300,000 Infantry, 100,000 Knights, 1200 cannon and almost 1,000,000 horses.⁹⁴ It is hard to see how he expected to feed such an army off the country, yet that was the plan he tried. The plan, however, did not work, because his troops had hardly reached the borders of the Ukraine, when they felt a bitter need of water and fodder for the

92. Zinkeisen, V, 139. Rycaut, III, 196-198.

93. Ibid., V, 139. Schuyler, "Peter the Great", I, 136.
The guilder varied in value in different countries, sometimes it was of silver and sometimes of gold.

94. Zinkeisen, V, 140.

horses, especially the latter, since the Tartars had burned all the grass in the Steppe region. Although the Russian army was greatly weakened, yet Nourredin Khan feared them and endeavored to draw them back. The Russians were compelled to withdraw, more on account of hunger than anything else.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEPOSITION OF MOHAMMED IV.

The loss of the border fortresses in Hungary, in Dalmatia, and in the Morea was certainly enough to dishearten the Ottoman army, and the more so since they lost additional important places in each succeeding year of the war. In the Autumn of 1687, while the army was in camp near Peterwardein, they heard that Agram was in great want of provisions and would have to surrender if they could not get help. The Grand Vizier ordered 1000 Janissaries and several hundred Spahis to take the needed provisions, but they refused absolutely to go unless the Grand Vizier would go with them.¹ The army had been growing more disobedient because they had not received any pay for six months, and they now demanded to be paid immediately.² The Vizier, not having any money, endeavored to pacify them by promising their pay in a few days, but the army did not rely much on these promises, and the Grand Vizier, becoming afraid, fled to Belgrade and later to Constantinople.³ After the Grand Vizier had fled, the army decided to elect Siavus Pasha as their leader, who accepted, but would not call himself Grand Vizier until he was invested with that office by the Sultan.⁴

1. Cantemir, 341.

2. Ibid., 342.

3. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", IV,
p. 491.

4. Cantemir, 342.

He advised that the army should present a petition to the Sultan, in which they should set down what they wanted. The soldiers determined to follow this advice and so Siavus Pasha sent a letter to the Sultan informing him of the state of affairs and advising that he should send the soldiers' pay along with the head of the former Grand Vizier. The Sultan did not know what to do; he liked Suleiman Pasha and did not want to put him to death, although many of his councillors advised that he had better quiet the army. He sent the pay and said nothing about the Grand Vizier, which resulted in a conspiracy against the Sultan, since the army decided that the Sultan was against them.

When Mohammed heard of this conspiracy, he put to death the men that the army demanded, and confirmed Siavus Pasha as Grand Vizier. The Sultan ordered the army to stop at Adrianople; they would not and determined to come on to Constantinople. The Sultan received Siavus very kindly, and he promised to quiet the rebellion if possible. He made a speech to his officers telling them that Mohammed IV was a good Mohammedan, that he had not been the cause of their misfortunes, and that there was none who was more worthy or more capable of ruling than he.⁵ The Janissaries then turned against Siavus, the Vizier that they had recently demanded, and met in the Mosque of St. Sophia with the intention of deposing Siavus and the Sultan. They sent for the

5. Cantemir, 345.

Kaimakam of Constantinople, Mustapha Kiuprili, to advise them what to do. While this was going on Mohammed IV attempted to put to death his two brothers, Suleiman and Ahmed, but a guard of soldiers were there and prevented him from carrying out his design. Mustapha Kiuprili was half afraid to disobey the summons of the army and so he joined them. He, however, counseled moderation; everything should be done in the proper way; there was no need for hurry in deposing Mohammed, since the brothers of Mohammed were safely guarded.⁶ Therefore the army appointed two men, and they carried the message of deposition to the Sultan, who made a very heroic speech in answer to them. Mohammed IV was deposed on November 4, 1687, in the 38th year of his reign.⁷ He lived for five years longer, being kept in close confinement in his apartments.

His brother came to the throne as Suleiman II. When he was first informed that Mohammed was deposed, he declined to become Sultan, but was finally persuaded to accept the throne.⁸ Up to this time Suleiman had lived in compulsory seclusion and in almost daily fear of death, because the custom had grown up in Turkey that as soon as a Sultan came into power, he would murder his brothers. Suleiman, however, had been saved by the close watchfulness and exertions of his mother.⁹ He began at once to devote himself

6. Cantemir, 347.

7. Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Empire", p. 294, New York, [1878.

8. Cantemir, 350-351.

9. Creasy, 295.

to the task of reorganizing the military forces in order to win back his Empire, but he was not able to bring the Janissaries into obedience, and they continued to riot and pillage in the capitol all winter and to dictate to the Sultan what ministers he should have.¹⁰ The soldiers demanded their pay and a new bakshish, which was a customary gift of money to the army given by a Sultan when he ascended the throne. At that time there was no money in the treasury and Suleiman could not pay this gift, and the soldiers refused to be obedient without it. The height of the rebellion was reached in February 1689, when the Janissaries decided to kill Siavus Pasha as the cause of their further troubles, since he had not been true to his promises.¹¹ The mob rushed to the Grand Vizier's palace, the gates of which they found locked. They soon broke these open and forced themselves into the palace. Siavus Pasha fought bravely and killed several men with his own sword, yet in the end he had to yield to superior force and numbers. The infuriated mob hacked him to pieces and threw him out of the window. They next broke into the women's apartments, cut off the ears of Siavus' wife and inflicted similar injuries on the other inhabitants of the harem.¹² The Janissaries continued to roam the streets, plundering and killing all that came in their way.

10. Ibid., 301.

11. Zinkeisen, V, 145.

12. Cantemir, 353.

The citizens could not endure this disorder any longer.¹³ The Ulema met at the palace, and setting up the Sacred Standard, they called upon all good Mohammedans to join and help put down the rebellion.¹⁴ The Janissaries, not wishing to be counted as infidels, joined. All was quiet for a few days until the Vizier, Hoja Ismael Pasha, attempted to punish the leaders in the rebellion. The Sultan, who was afraid of those revolutionists, banished Ismael Pasha to Rhodes and appointed Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha in his place.¹⁵

These riots and disorders in the capitol were followed by other insurrections in the provinces. The soldiers acting as garrisons demanded their bakshish, but they did not get it and so they rebelled. The soldiers under Egen Osman Pasha in Rumelia got their pay by robbing the people and they even plundered as far as Sofia in Bulgaria.¹⁶ In Asia, Gieduck Pasha led an army, which threatened to attack Constantinople itself.¹⁷ With this the Janissaries laid aside their grievances and soon crushed the rebellions.

While the Ottoman Empire was thus shaken by internal dissensions, the Holy League continued its campaigns against the Turks. The Austrians under the Elector of Bavaria marched directly to Belgrade, which the Seraskier abandoned upon their approach and fled to Semendria.¹⁸ Belgrade was bravely defended by the garrison, but after a siege of a

13. Jorga IV, 227.

14. Cantemir, 353.

15. Ibid., 354.

16. Ibid., 354.

17. Ibid., 354.

18. Zinkeisen, V, 146.

few weeks, it fell to the Elector of Bavaria. Soon afterward Semendria and Galamboz fell.¹⁹ At the same time the Duke of Baden was successful in overrunning Bosnia. He took Kostajnica, Jassenovacz, Dubicz, Gradisca, and Brod. On September 5th he met 15,000 men under the Pasha of Bosnia near Derbent and gained a great victory. General Caraffa took Lippa in Transylvania. The Venetians in this year completed the conquest of Dalmatia by taking Knin and several small forts.²⁰ In the Morea, however, they were not successful. The Seraskier arrived before the Venetians and compelled the garrison of Athens to leave that city. In this year the Venetians carried on the unsuccessful siege of Negropont.²¹ They had scarcely thrown up their trenches, when pestilence and fevers attacked the men, among whom was Count Königsmarck, who died on September 15th. On October 12th a general assault was made, but the Venetians were unable to gain any of the defenses. After this attack, Morosini became discouraged and decided to abandon the siege, which had lasted nearly a hundred days and in which 20,000 men had died in action or by sickness.²² The Poles remained quiet. The Czar raised a large army in order to attack Crimea but they did not accomplish anything because the army revolted and went home.²³

19. Ibid., V, 146.

20. Zinkeisen, V, 137.

21. Ibid., V, 136.

22. Ibid., V, 136.

23. Cantemir, 363.

Although Suleiman II appeared to take great interest in the military affairs, yet peace suited him much better, and so in 1688 he sent Zulfikar Effendi, clerk of the Janissaries, and Alexander Mavrocordato, interpreter for the Divan, to the Emperor to inform him of Suleiman II's accession, but in reality their mission was to arrange a peace.²⁴ Two days after Belgrade fell, the ambassadors arrived there and held a conference with the Elector of Bavaria, whose headquarters were in the summer home of Mohammed IV.²⁵ The Elector said he had no authority to make terms of peace and that the ambassadors would have to go on to Vienna.²⁶ The ambassadors were in Vienna for several months, exchanging terms and carrying on negotiations with the different representatives of the Holy League, all members of which were represented, since they had agreed not to make a separate peace. The Turks had two sets of articles for peace. If only a short truce was desired, the Austrians should have Hungary; Transylvania should be tributary to both Empires; Kaminiets should be restored to the Poles; and Belgrade should be given back to Turkey. If peace was desired, Turkey must have part of Hungary with Belgrade.²⁷ There were a great many conferences in which many propositions were brought forth. The Emperor insisted upon the surrender of Tökely; since war had begun with him, peace should begin with him

24. Ibid., 356-357.

25. Von Hammer, VI, 530.

26. Cantemir, 359.

27. Cantemir, 359.

also.²⁸ Three of the articles were purely religious; the Franciscan Friars should possess the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the Christians should have freedom of worship, and they should have the right to repair and to build new churches that should have bells to call the people to worship.²⁹ The Emperor must have Hungary with the provinces of Bosnia, Slavonia, Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Transylvania.³⁰ Venice demanded the Morea, part of Dalmatia, and Negropont.³¹ The Poles demanded Kaminiets, the Ukraine, Podolia, and Bessarabia up to the Crimea, also the removal of the Tartars who had come into Moldavia and Wallachia, back into Asia.³² These were rather hard terms of peace, but it is very likely that Turkey would have accepted, if the French ambassador, the Marquis of Chateauneuf had not persuaded them to keep up the war. He informed the Turks that the French Emperor intended to make war on the Austrian Emperor and this would give Turkey a chance to win back Hungary, which caused the Turks to take hope once more.³³

28. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 536.

29. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 542.

30. Cantemir, 360.

31. Cantemir, 360.

32. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 542.

33. Cantemir, 360.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TURKISH EMPIRE UNDER MUSTAPHA KIUPRILI.

In the year 1689 the Sultan announced his intention of leading the army in person, and proceeded as far as the city of Sofia.¹ The advance forces of the Turks under the Seraskier Rejeb Pasha were defeated by the Margrave of Baden in three battles, near Grabowa, Batotschin, and Nisch.² The last named city, evacuated by the Turks, was occupied by the Austrians. When the Sultan heard the news of this defeat, he fled in alarm to Philippopolis.³ The Margrave of Baden then got possession of all the Balkan passes and all the forts along the Danube from Nikopolis to Viddin.⁴

After the disastrous campaign of the previous year, it was hard for Venice to get money and men to carry on the war; the new Pope, Alexander VIII, was not very favorably inclined towards the war, and since Louis XIV was making war on the North German States, they had to keep their men at home.⁵ Morosini, for his part, wishes to attack Negropont again, but the council of war decided that they were not strong enough, since the Turks had fortified that coast efficiently, and so they agreed upon the blockade of

1. Creasy, 303.

2. Zinkeisen, V, 148.

3. Creasy, 303.

4. Zinkeisen, V, 148.

5. Zinkeisen, V, 160-161.

Monemvasia. The Venetians took two small forts which helped in guarding the harbor. Their ships had a small naval engagement with ships from the Barbary states, in which they received heavy losses.⁶ Sultan Suleiman had found that the appointment of a Christian governor over Christian people had worked well in Moldavia and Wallachia, therefore he appointed Liberius Geratschari, a native of Maina, to be governor over the Mainotes.⁷ Under the pretense of collecting the tribute, Liberius ravaged the land of Livadien, but was finally thrown back to Thebes, by the aroused peasants, who had the help of a few Venetians.⁸

The bad luck of the Russians continued in 1689. When they advanced against the Isthmus of Perekop, they were defeated by the Ottoman army sent to guard the Crimea and retreated in great haste.⁹

Such was the state of affairs in the Empire in November 1689, when Suleiman deposed Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha, since he was incapable of filling his office, and advanced Mustapha Kiuprili in his place.¹⁰ The Grand Vizier immediately called together all the principal officers of state to find out whether he should make peace or continue the war. Largely through the energy and enthusiasm of Mustapha Kiuprili, it was concluded to carry on the war. The soldiers, however, were discouraged and did not answer the

6. Ibid., 163.

7. Cantemir, 360.

8. Zinkeisen, V, 164.

9. Creasy, 304;

Schuyler, I, 162-164.

10. Cantemir, 363.

call for men very readily, until Mustapha Kiuprili issued the statement that he wanted only willing and good Mohammedans in the army. This religious basis aroused the Turks and they flocked to their standards. By this means the Grand Vizier was able to raise a large army without any trouble.¹¹

The treasury was empty and Mustapha Kiuprili turned his energies toward replenishing it. He examined the accounts and found that a great deal of money had been taken illegally by many officers, but he required the restoration of all that. Those who had to pay tribute, were divided into three classes according to their means. He insisted rigorously on the capitation tax. Although he was a zealous Mohammedan, yet he was politic enough to see that toleration towards the Christians was the best policy to keep them faithful to the Porte.¹² He allowed them to have their own churches and permitted them to build new ones. He ordered the Turkish officers not to oppress them.

Kiuprili was more of a statesman than a warrior, yet the Empire prospered in a military way under his direction. In April 1690, Apaffy, Prince of Transylvania, had died without any heirs and had left his power and territory to the Austrian Emperor. The Turks still claimed that country and appointed Tökely as the new Prince, who was given 10,000 men with whom to make good his claim. He marched through the passes from Wallachia into Transylvania and in a hard

11. Cantemir, 365.

12. Creasy, 306.

fought battle near Tohani he defeated General Heusler.

Tökely was getting a good hold on Transylvania, when the Margrave of Baden, who had intended to strengthen Belgrade, marched into the province and forced Tökely to retreat into Wallachia.¹³

The campaign of Tökely had drawn the Margrave of Baden away, which allowed the Grand Vizier to win back the forts along the Danube. He captured Viddin on August 29th, Nisch on September 8th, then Orsova, Galamboz, and Semendria.¹⁴

Mustapha Kiuprili, having secured the country behind him, then laid siege to Belgrade, which was defended by a garrison of 8,000 men under Count Apremont and Field Marshal von Croy. The siege would probably have lasted longer, if a powder magazine had not exploded on October 8th, and made a great breach in the walls, through which the Turks rushed.¹⁵

After resting a few days at Belgrade, Mustapha Kiuprili sent 10,000 men to relieve the garrison of Temesvar and he with the rest of the army marched to Esseg. He did not take this place, however, as winter was so far advanced. The Grand Vizier returned to Adrianople, where he was received enthusiastically and greeted as the great deliverer for Turkey. The Sultan was in ill health and it was decided that he had better return to Constantinople. The Grand Vizier entered the city in great triumph; for three whole days he was feasted and entertained by the French Ambassador, who in that manner showed how acceptable the

13. Zinkeisen, V, p. 149.

14. Ibid., V, p. 149.

15. Jorga, IV, 252.

defeat of the Christians was to the most Christian King.¹⁶

The Grand Vizier prepared for the next campaign by raising a large army, by appointing Mustapha Pasha as Seraskier against the Austrians and Ali Capitan Pasha against the Venetians. He did not leave the capital until after the death of Suleiman II, because if Mohammed IV should be brought back, he would probably be dismissed, inasmuch as he had helped in the former Sultan's deposition. Suleiman's brother, Ahmed II, came to the throne and confirmed Mustapha Kiuprili in his office. A month later he came to Belgrade with an army of 120,000. The Austrians under the Margrave of Baden had advanced as far as Peterwardein. The Turks decided to attack the Germans wherever they could, or, if they would not fight, to follow them as far as Buda. On August 19th, the two armies met on the plains of Salankaman. At the same time the Turkish and Christian fleets, which had accompanied the armies along the river, had an engagement in which the Turkish fleets were victorious.¹⁷ It was otherwise on the land, and Salankaman proved to be a fatal field for the Ottomans. The cavalry charge under Kemankesh Pasha was repulsed by the guns of the enemy. Again they made a charge in order to break the Austrian line and again they were driven back. The Asiatic Spahis attempted to push back the Austrians, but they became entangled in the felled trees. Kiuprili, calling on the name of God, appeared in the front

16. Cantemir, 375.

17. Creasy, 310.

of the army with his sword in his hand and called on all to follow him. The fate of the day was decided when Kiuprili was struck by a musket ball. When the Turks saw their leader fall, terror siezed them and they fled in a panic. The Turks lost 28,000 men and 150 cannon, besides their whole camp.¹⁸

The Venetians had blockaded Monemvasia during all of the preceding year and in August, 1690, that place surrendered, more on account of hunger than for any other reason. The Venetian Admiral attacked the Capudan Pasha near Mitylene and sunk several of his ships.¹⁹ The Venetians were very unsuccessful in 1691 in their attempt to take Crete. Carabusa, one of the coast defenses that the Venetians had saved in the Candian war of 1669, fell into the hands of the Turks. Two other cities, Suda and Spinalonga, might have fallen also, if the Venetians had not increased their efforts and watchfulness.²⁰

18. Jorga, IV, 255.
19. Cantemir, 374.

20. Zinkeisen, V, 165.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR UNTIL 1698.

The death of Mustapha Kiuprili on the field of Salankamen was a terrible blow to the military success of the Turks. Hopes were revived when Mustapha II led the armies in person, but this hope was not long lived. On the other hand, Austria was not in a position to carry on a brilliant war, because for most of the time, her main energy and her best men were needed to fight Louis XIV on the Rhine frontier.

After the battle of Salankamen, many of the Turks were desirous of peace. The Dutch ambassador, Hemskeerke, took advantage of the situation and drew up tentative terms for peace. He proposed for the Emperor: the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre to the Franciscan friars, the freeing of Ragusa from tribute, and the renewal of the old capitulations for 30 years. He asked for Poland: that the Porte should resign her claims on the Ukraine and Podolia, she should civilize the Tartars, and remove the Cossacks. He proposed for Venice: that Venice should have the land between the rivers Obrovacz and Bojana, the Turks should raise the tribute from Zante, and the Venetians could build forts.¹ In all the negotiations the Dutch Ambassador was

1. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, pp. 571-572.

hindered because Austria demanded Transylvania, Poland wanted Kaminiets, and Venice desired more than he had proposed.² The French Ambassador at the Porte took pains to see that there was no peace, since it was more advantageous to the French that the Turks should keep up hostilities.³ Thus nothing came of the peace proposals.

The new Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, who had been governor of Damascus, tried to raise a new army and ordered all the Pashas to be ready by a certain date. As yet the terror of the late defeat had not worn off and the men were slow in enrolling themselves. Ali Pasha sent the Seraskier, with what troops he could get, into Hungary with orders to avoid a battle, and to guard the borders of the territory that they already held. The Austrians launched no offensive, either; their troops were guarding what they held. The only military event was the fall, on June 6, 1692, of Peterwardein which had been besieged since the previous year.⁴ Near the end of the year the Margrave of Baden was transferred to the western front and the Duke of Croy succeeded him.

He held command only one year, probably because he was discouraged by the ill success of his attack upon Belgrade. The Grand Vizier had intended to follow Tökely's route from Wallachia into Transylvania and gain control of that region, but he gave up that idea, when he heard that the Duke of

2. Ibid., VI, p. 572.

3. Cantemir, 384.

4. Zinkeisen, V, p. 151.

Croy was laying siege to Belgrade. The Duke had encamped around the walls, but he did not make any assault upon them for the first 20 days, probably because he thought that it would be less costly to reduce the city by famine. However, when he heard that the Turks had abandoned the campaign in Transylvania and were marching thither towards him, he made serious efforts to take Belgrade before the Grand Vizier should arrive. He had battered down a good part of the walls by his mines and cannon when the Turkish troops arrived. The Duke of Croy then raised the siege, since he did not have enough men to carry it on and also withstand an attack of the Grand Vizier.⁵ Selim Ghiray, Khan of the Crimean Tartars, was sent out after them with instructions to ravage the country in order that the Austrians could not get provisions. He was not quite cautious enough, and allowed himself to be surrounded and nearly all his men were killed.⁶

After this campaign, instead of being rewarded for raising the siege of Belgrade, Mustapha Pasha was dismissed, and Ali Pasha became his successor. He saw the great distress of the Empire and wished for peace. The Dutch and English ambassadors were ready with their services, but their efforts were set aside again by Chateauneuf, the French Ambassador, who had the Ulema on his side.⁷ The Grand Vizier moved with his whole army to besiege Peterwardein. After

5. Cantemir, 390.

6. Ibid., 390.

7. Ibid., 390; and Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 587-588.

the siege had lasted 21 days, it was impossible to hold the soldiers in their trenches any longer, which had been filled up with water from the rains and floods of the river.⁸

An event occurred in Turkey which promised well for the future of the country; Ahmed II, worn out by disease, died in February, 1695, and was succeeded by Mustapha II, the son of the deposed Mohammed IV. Three days after his accession, he issued a Hattisherif, in which he threw the blame of the recent misfortunes upon the Sultans and announced that he would lead the army in person.⁹ The Divan met and deliberated for three days upon this Hattisherif; they decided that his Sacred Person would be exposed to too much risk and fatigue, besides, it would involve too much expense. Consequently, they requested the Sultan to stay at home and allow the Grand Vizier to lead the Army. To this decision, the Sultan said, "I persist in marching."¹⁰

The Sultan crossed over the Danube near Belgrade on August 25th, took Lippha by storm on September 7th, and a few days later took possession of Titel at the junction of the Theiss and the Danube.¹¹ While he was thus engaged the Tartars brought word that 6000 Germans under General Veterani had marched out of Transylvania in order to join with the main army under Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony. Mustapha II intended to prevent their union and met Veterani's men near Lugos, in which there was hard fighting. General

8. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, p. 598.

9. Creasy, 311.

10. Ibid., 313.

11. Zinkeisen, V, 153.

Veterani fell and upon his death his troops retreated in disorder.¹² Directly afterwards Lugos and Karansabes fell to the Turks. At the close of the campaign Mustapha II returned amid great rejoicing. During the winter Mustapha applied himself to reforming the finances and gathering a large army.

In 1696 the Sultan was able to appear with 50,000 men. The Austrians under the Elector of Saxony were the first to take the field and had laid siege to Temesvar. The Austrians, upon the approach of the Turks, abandoned the siege, and retired a short distance out of Temesvar, where they awaited the attack. The Sultan then achieved a brilliant victory, but he failed to follow it up.¹³

The ambition for further military glory still found the Sultan at the head of the army, which amounted in 1697 to 100,000 or more. Several councils of war were held in which different officers advised different plans, and the Sultan did not know which one to follow.¹⁴ It was at first decided that it would be best to attack Transylvania, but this plan of campaign was given up when they found that the forces of the Emperor were near Titel. The Turks then besieged Peterwardein. The Emperor was able to put more men and better leaders into the field, because he and Louis XIV had made peace. The new leader, the Duke of Savoy, was an

12. Jorga, IV, 259-260.

13. Zinkeisen, V, 153.

14. Cantemir, 404-405.

able and worthy man. The Turks debated whether to attack the Austrians or not; the consensus of opinion was against it, as an open battle with them had nearly always proved disastrous.¹⁵ Finally, it was settled to attack Szegedin, since this place was not strongly fortified. When the Turks withdrew, the Duke of Savoy followed them and on September 11th met them on the plains near Zenta, a small castle on the Theiss River. The Turks drew up a camp, fortified by two trenches and two lines of wagons chained together. The Janissaries repulsed an attack on the outer trench, then refused to guard it any longer and retired into the inner trenches. Their officers entreated them to guard the outer fortification, but this made them so angry that they murdered their officers. During this dispute the Austrians attacked and took the outer trench, and closing in on all sides, they were completely victorious over the Turks.¹⁶ More than 20,000 of the Turks fell in the fighting and 10,000 more were drowned in an attempt to cross the river. The booty of the camp was large; 87 cannon, 58 grappling irons, a rich store of provisions, powder and munitions, 15,000 oxen, 7,000 horses, several thousand camels, 6,000 wagons, the money chests containing 3,000,000 guildens, and the Imperial seal.¹⁷ The Sultan fled in terror to Temesvar and thence to Constantinople. The Duke of Savoy

15. Cantemir, 406-408.

16. Zinkeisen, V, 155.

17. Zinkeisen, V, 155-156.

decided that he did not have enough provisions to undertake the siege of Belgrade, which had been his original intention, and so made a campaign into Bosnia. It was in October that he crossed the Save, and got possession of several small forts, Dobai, Magloy, Schebze, and Brandack, which brought him before the strongly fortified Bosnai--Serai, which he failed to take.¹⁸

In the extreme distress of the Empire the Sultan resorted again to the famous house of Kiuprili for a Grand Vizier. Hussein Kiuprili was an able man; he saw that the Empire needed peace, although he went on with military operations in order to be able to fight if there was need of it. But on account of the peace negotiations, no campaign was undertaken for the year 1698.

In 1692 the Venetians under their Admiral Mocenigo made a second attack upon Crete by laying siege to Canea, whose fall would give them control of the island. The Turks were prepared for this assault, as they had been warned by the French, and had put a strong garrison there.¹⁹ In several bloody attacks the Venetians gained the outer works, but only for a short time. In the midst of the siege news was brought that the Seraskier had broken through the Isthmus of Corinth and was besieging Argos and Nauplia. Mocenigo decided that it would be better to save the Morea than to take Canea. Consequently he sailed for Greece as soon as

18. Ibid., V, 157.

19. Cantemir, 386.

possible. Liberacchi had left Argos in ashes, had laid waste all the land up to Napoli and was getting a good hold on the land, when he heard that Mocenigo had arrived safely in the harbor of Nauplia. He had to abandon his campaign because he was afraid that the Venetians might cut off his return.²⁰ In the same year the Seraskier made an unsuccessful attack upon Lepanto.²¹ He was rather far advanced when Mocenigo, Francesco Falero, the quartermaster of Patras, and the quartermaster of the island Vendramino, came to the rescue. The guns on the ships could shell the Turkish trenches, and at the same time a sudden charge from the garrison was sufficient to drive the Turks away. The Turks had to leave their camp, which was taken promptly by the enemy, who thereby gained a store of weapons and provisions.

Since the Venetians had withstood the Turks so well, they made great preparations for the coming year. The seventy-four year old Doge, Francesco Morosini, a popular hero, was made admiral. There was a wave of enthusiasm, in which the Venetian cities on the mainland sent 100,000 ducats, and the three islands, Corfu, Cephalonia and Zante, sent as much as they could afford.²² Morosini left St. Mark's amidst the greatest ceremony and celebrations and near the end of June took command of the fleet at Monemvasia. Morosini wished with all his heart to take Negropont. He gave up this scheme, however, because the larger part of the

20. Zinkeisen, V, 169.

21. Ibid., V, 169.

22. Zinkeisen, V, 170.

ships were needed to guard the Isthmus, as the Pasha of Thebes was already threatening it. The Venetians did not accomplish anything on a large scale; they captured the rich caravan fleet bound from Alexandria for the capital, besides enticing the Kapudan Pasha of Chios to give battle on the open sea. Morosini returned to Nauplia for the winter, during which he made preparations for the siege of Negropont, yet this great wish was not to be fulfilled, because he died on January 6, 1694. His body was sent back to Venice and found its last resting place in an Augustinian church.²³

The Quartermaster General of the Morea, Antonio Zeno, became commander-in-chief; a provision was drawn up that hereafter it would be contrary to law for the power of the Doge and the highest military commander to be united in one person.²⁴ Zeno wanted to carry out Morosini's wish and take Negropont, but he did not feel equal to that, and so he decided to make an attempt on Chios. A considerable number of the inhabitants of Chios were Roman Catholics and therefore dissatisfied with Turkish rule and ready to welcome the Venetians. The Governor of Chios had very few soldiers there, which made him decide to surrender, since he did not wish to be taken prisoner. The Kapudan Pasha fled to Smyrna, and ^{was} followed by the Venetians, who wished to attack him there, but agents of England, France, and

23. Zinkeisen, V, 172.

24. Zinkeisen, V, 172.

Holland, persuaded them not to do so, since all these countries had goods in Smyrna that would be damaged by a bombardment.²⁵

The Turks were very unwilling that the Venetians should continue in possession of Chios, since that island had been an important stopping place for the trade between Egypt and the capital. The Turks found a very able man in naval affairs, Mezzomorto, formerly a pirate from Algeria. Mezzomorto fought in the harbor of Chios, in which the Venetians lost three of their best ships. Ten days later the attack was renewed and again the Venetians were defeated, and were not able to hold the island any longer. They set fire to the fort and magazine before they left, but the Greeks, who had been oppressed by the Roman Catholics, hurried in and put out the fire. Thus the Turks received as booty a rich store of provisions, guns, cannon, and several hundred horses.²⁶ The Turks restored the Greek religion and forbade the exercise of the Roman Catholic; the Roman churches were turned into mosques.²⁷

From the time that Mezzomorto was appointed, to the end of the war, the Venetians had their hands full in protecting and holding the Morea, because the Turkish Admiral was continually threatening the coast, and the Seraskier was making raids from his headquarters in Thebes. The loss of Chios was compensated for in a small way by the victory near Argos.²⁸

25. Cantemir, 393.

26. Zinkeisen, V, 181.

27. Cantemir, 400.

28. Ibid., 400.

In 1696 there were no naval battles of importance, although the Venetians kept Mezzomorto from landing in the Morea and prevented an attack on Tenedos. The Venetians provided a better defense for the Morea; they hired an engineer, Sigismondo Alberghetti, who put up watch towers in the principal passes of the Isthmus. So well did they provide for the defense that Liberacchi revolted from the Turks and joined the Venetians, who, however, did not trust him. They siezed him as a state prisoner, and Liberacchi spent the remaining six years of his life in a prison at Brescia.²⁹ The Venetians made an unsuccessful attack upon Dulcigno, a famous home port for Turkish pirates. Although they repulsed the Pasha of Albania, who made an attack upon the trenches, they could not defeat the garrison.³⁰

In 1697 Molino suffered a severe defeat in his attack upon Lemnos and had to withdraw with considerable loss. In 1698 Giacomo Cornaro became head of the Venetian fleet. He had an encounter with Mezzomorto near Mitylene, but it was very uncertain whether the victory belonged to the Crescent or the banner of St. Mark.³¹ Venice was tired out by the long war, her financial strength was terribly weakened, since it cost so much to guard what she had siezed, and so she was very willing to discuss peace.

John Sobieski was greatly hindered by the lack of money and the unyielding nature of the Diet from carrying

29. Zinkeisen, V, 184-185.

30. Cantemir, 402.

31. Zinkeisen, V, 183.

on the war with as much energy as he wished. In 1692 the Papal Envoy, the Jesuit Carlo Maurizio Vallo, promised the Poles financial help. The Turks proceeded towards Soroka, but on the way the army was detained by an outbreak of sickness, which gave the Poles time to strengthen the defenses. Although Soroka would be harder to take now, nevertheless they attacked it, since they did not want to give up after they had marched so far. When the siege had lasted thirty days, winter came on and the Turks were obliged to give up the siege.³² The Khan of the Tartars, with the consent of the Seraskier, sent Dervish Shaban Agha to the King of Poland to persuade him to make peace with the Porte. If he would abandon the alliance with the Emperor, he could have Kaminiets with all Podolia and the Ukraine, but the Poles did not accept.³³

In 1695 the Tartars made a raid into Podolia, burning and ravaging the country up to the walls of Lemberg. They also captured 30,000 prisoners, whom they carried off to become slaves.³⁴

On June 17, 1696, John Sobieski died, and the election of a successor occupied a year. Finally the choice fell upon the Elector of Sazony, Frederick August, who came to the throne as Augustus II. He promised to capture Kaminiets as soon as possible, but by the time that he was able to fight, the peace negotiations had advanced so far that

32. Cantimir, 381.

33. Ibid., 381.

34. Zinkeisen, V, 187.

Poland secured this fort without a siege.³⁵

After 1689 the Russians did not make another attack until 1695. Sultan Mustapha II, before his departure for the campaign in Hungary, sent the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Patriarch of Moscow with rich presents for the Czar. These two men were to persuade Peter the Great to abstain from war. The Czar's ambition was to get an outlet on the Black Sea, and so he decided to attack Azov. His army of 100,000 men were under the command of Generals Schein, Golowin, Le Fort, and Patrick Gordon. On April 28th it left the capital with the Czar himself at the head. As usual in those days with such a large army it was hard to provide for it, and they proceeded very slowly in the march. When they reached their destination, they first built two small forts, on either side of the Don about one-fourth of a mile above Azov. The Russians could not wholly surround Azov because they had no fleet. They made many attacks. On August 5th they made a general assault, but they were not able to gain any of the defenses. Most of the army was ready to go home, but Peter the Great was not. On September 25th another general assault was carried on with much bravery, but it was in vain. The siege was given up after it had lasted 96 days and had cost 30,000 men.³⁶

The Czar's will to get Azov was not shaken by the defeat and he made a second attempt in 1696.³⁷ During the

35. Ibid., V, 187.

36. Zinkeisen, V, 183-191; Schuyler, I, 243-249.

37. Zinkeisen, V, 192-198; Schuyler, I, 256-260.

winter he had built thirty galleys, two frigates, and one hundred transport ships. General Le Fort had been made Admiral of this navy of the Don, with George Lima as Vice-Admiral and Karl Loser as Rear-Admiral. Since they had suffered in the first campaign from lack of engineers, artillery officers, and experienced miners, the Czar hired a great number of these from the Emperor, from Holland, and from Frederick III of Brandenburg. 64,000 men formed the besieging corps. Another 40 or 50,000 men under the command of General Scheremetiev were to campaign along the Dnieper into the Ukraine. The army with the Czar at its head reached their destination about the middle of June. The garrison consisted of 6,000 men, who were determined to fight to the end. Since the walls were so strong Patrick Gordon advised that a large earthen embankment should be thrown up, by which the men could climb over the walls. By this means the Russians got into the city on July 18th. Immediately the Czar began to provide for the city's defense. He turned all the mosques into Greek churches. The Russians then took the small fort Lutina lying opposite to Azov, in which they found thirty-one cannon and provisions for three months. The three hundred men guarding the city were allowed to depart. The Czar was welcomed back to his capital with great rejoicing. Even the other members caught some of his enthusiasm, and this great victory spurred on their hopes.

The Turks saw with apprehension this advance of the Russians to the Black Sea, but since they were so busy in

Hungary, they could not make a large campaign there. The Third Campaign of the Czar in the region of Azov consisted only of small battles.³⁸ An army of 30,000 Turks laid siege to Tarvan and Kasikerman on the Dnieper, but they were driven back.

38. Zinkeisen, V, 199-200.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONGRESS OF CARLOWITZ.

Thus by 1698, all the countries were tired out by the long war. There was a large peace party in the Divan, who saw the distressed condition of their country; Hungary was lost and perhaps if war were continued, Belgrade and Temesvar would fall; the Venetians had possession of the Morea and had a good fleet; the Porte saw with concern the advance of Russia; and they reasoned that there would be nothing gained by continuing the war. The Emperor, besides being tired of the war, was turning his attention to Spain, whose throne was expected to be vacant in a short while, and he wanted to be free to deal with that question. The Venetians, as was shown above, needed peace to reorganize their finances. Although Poland had not done anything for several years, she was inclined to hold out for Kaminiets. Russia had just begun her great expansion and was rather adverse to peace. Although nearly all the countries wanted peace, yet none were willing to take the initiative; the Sultan feared that it might elate his enemies and the Emperor thought it dishonorable to propose peace, since he had been victorious.¹ At this juncture Lord Paget and Jacob Collier, the English and Dutch Ambassadors, took a

1. Cantemir, 422.

hand. The Emperor was represented by Count Ottingen and Count Schlick; Venice by Ruzini; Poland by Count Michelowski; Russia by the Councillor Wosnizin, and the Turks by the Reis-Effendi, Mohammad Rami, and Mavrocordato,² chief interpreter of the Divan.

The little^{town} of Carlowitz, between Belgrade and Peterwardein on the right bank of the Danube, was chosen as the place of the Conference. The territory from the Save to Peterwardein and from Semlin to Illock was declared to be neutral, and within this neutral territory was Carlowitz.³

There was a great dispute about ceremony, as to who should have precedence; the Turks claimed to be first, but this place was claimed by the Emperor; the Poles wanted to sit next to the Emperor, which place the Russians claimed; and the Venetians wanted to sit next to the English. To settle with these quarrels Mavrocordato proposed that the Conference hall should be built in the form of a circle with as many doors as there were ambassadors, the door of each ambassador looking towards the country from which he came. All the ambassadors should enter the doors at the same time and take the seat nearest to them.⁴

The ambassadors met about the middle of October in 1698 and continued in session until January 26, 1699, when peace was concluded. Von Hammer gives in detail the proceedings of the thirty six conferences.⁵

2. Zinkeisen, V, 208.

3. Ibid., V, 207.

4. Cantemir, 426-427.

5. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 658-674.

Lord Paget suggested, as a basis for settling the difficulties, the principle of "Uti Possidetis", which is that each party should keep what it possessed on commencing negotiations. This caused a great deal of trouble;⁶ Poland wanted Kaminiets, a large part of Moldavia, and a large indemnity to pay the cost of the war. Russia was very insistent on getting Kertsch in order to secure Azov. The Turks insisted on Transylvania. The Emperor demanded that the Holy Sepulchre be given to the Franciscans and he also wished Tökely to be delivered up to him.

Terms which included twenty articles were drawn up first with the Emperor.⁷ He obtained Hungary with the exception of the Banate of Temesvar, which remained to Turkey, also Transylvania with the greater part of Slavonia and Croatia. The border fortresses against the Banate of Temesvar, namely Karansebes, Lugos, Lippa, Csanad, and Klin-Kanascha were to be demolished, while Novi, Brod, Dubizza, Jessoniviza and Doboy were to be given back. Both sides could keep their forts in good order, but should not build any new ones. All raids into each others' territory were to be severely punished, nor was there to be any fighting on the borders. Prisoners were to be exchanged. The Sultan should renew the older privileges of Christians and the right of pilgrimage to Jerusalem should not be denied. Trade between the two countries was to be resumed under the old privileges.

6. Zinkeisen, VI, 206.

7. Ibid., V, 214-216. Rycaut, III, 574-582.

All former treaties and privileges not abrogated by this one should remain in force. Ambassadors, consuls, and agents should be exchanged. This peace should last for twenty-five years, should be subject to renewal, and all should strive to observe it.

The terms of peace with Venice were drawn up in fifteen articles.⁸ The Morea with all the forts, castles, harbors, cities, rivers, lakes, and so forth were to remain in the possession of Venice. The mainland of Greece was to remain to the Porte. The Venetians should evacuate Lepanto and the castles of Rumelia and Prevesa in the neighborhood of Lepanto were to be torn down, but not until they had taken possession of their Dalmatian territory. The inhabitants of these places could leave if they chose. Venice was to get the island of St. Mauro. The sea between the Morea and the mainland was to be open for free navigation by both powers. All the islands in the Archipelago were to remain to Turkey as they were before the war. The Porte would take no more tribute from Zante. Agina was to remain to the Venetians. In Dalmatia a line was drawn from Cnin to Verlika, from there by way of Sing Duare, Verkoraz, and Ciclut to Gabelle. All the land from this line to the sea was to go to Venice, all on the other side to Turkey. Castelnovo and Risano were to go to Venice. Both sides could keep their fortresses in repair but they were not to build any new ones. No fighting was to be allowed on the borders.

8. Zinkeisen, V, 214-216. Rycaut, III, 600-602.

The old privileges of religion and trade were to be renewed. A general amnesty was proclaimed.

Poland's terms of peace contained eleven articles.⁹ The Turks were to keep Moldavia with the same boundaries as before the war. Poland was to have Kaminiets with Podolia and the Ukraine. Poland was to help the Turks with wagons and horses in taking away their goods. The inhabitants were free to leave, if they wished to do so. The other articles dealt with restraining the Tartars and Cossacks from making raids into the territory that Poland acquired, the protection of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire, trade between the two states, the exchanging of prisoners, and the punishing of those who should disturb the peace.

Russia would not sign a peace, but only a truce for two years, subject to renewal.¹⁰ She kept all that she had gained around the Sea of Azov.

Jorga¹¹ says that this peace was considered as a truce; the Emperor believed that he could, at some future date, gain yet more of the Turkish lands; while the Porte would treasure up the memory of the great extent of their empire and would try to regain their lost provinces. In whatever light it was regarded by the participants, it was "a notable landmark in Turkish history."¹² Notable not only for the great territorial changes involved, but also because it was the first time that Russia and Turkey took

9. Zinkeisen, V, 213-214. Rycaut, III, 593-596.

10. Ibid., V, 210. Rycaut, III, 587-588.

11. Jorga, IV, 275.

12. Stanley Lane-Poole, 241.

took part in a general European Congress and because these countries admitted that disinterested Powers could intervene as mediators for the sake of the general welfare.¹³ Von Hammer¹⁴ says that this peace showed up the weakness of the Porte and announced to the world its decay; it closed a powerful page of their history, men ceased to dread their power, and the Western World came to regard Turkey in a new light. From that time forth men ceased to fear Turkey in a military way. "Her importance has become diplomatic. Other nations have from time to time sought to use her as a political machine against Austria, or the growing power of Russia; and this diplomatic importance of Turkey has grown proportionably greater as the sovereigns of Russia became desirous of possessing the Black Sea for the carrying out of their plans."¹⁵

13. Creasy, 319.

14. Von Hammer, "Geschichte", VI, 658-659.

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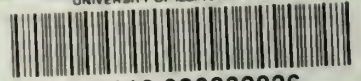
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